2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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for a short time during the coldest part of the year. There can be no doubt that these houses were very unhealthy to live in, for of those 300 natives brought down from Shumushir by the Japanese Government in the year 1874, whom they placed upon the island of Shikotan off Nemoro, and who made for themselves pit dwellings, not one is left. They, *i.e.* those of them who did not return to their old homes, died of consumption for the most part. Only the remains of their dwellings are now to be seen there.

But, what, then, about the dwarfs? Anra called them *Koropok-guru*. On asking him what that name had to do with it, he told me that it was because they were such little demons that this cognomen was given them. They were so tiny, he said, that several of them were able to live together under one leaf of a petasitis, which is called *korokoni*. It is named *fuki* in Japanese, and is the *petasitis japonicus, Miq.* This plant grows to a great size in some localities in Hokkaidō. The largest I ever remember having measured was four feet one inch across and the length of the stem was over five feet, which stem is used for food by both Japanese and Ainu. No doubt what he had to say about the origin of the name was interesting, but it was not at all satisfactory to me, for I could not bring myself to believe that *koropok* and *korokoni* meant the same thing.

The following is a short story told about these people. "In very ancient times a race of people who dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one petasitis leaf. When they went fishing they used to make boats by sewing the leaves of *sasa* (bamboo grass) together, and they always fished with hook and line. If a single herring was caught, it took the united strength of the men in five boats, or even ten sometimes, to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were needed to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet these divine little men used to kill even

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obtain from the younger generation. She told me she was ninety years of age, which I could well believe. I was seeking information about tattooing. So I said to her. 304 888 [115]

Self. Your mother tattooed you very cleverly. I have never seen it better done. (This seemed to please her).

Woman. Ah, yes. My people took a pride in this when I was a child. But now, alas, the customs have changed.

Self. Yes, indeed. Let me see now, what was this tattooing called when you were very small. What did your grandmother, for instance, call it?

Woman. Ah, yes. Its old name was *cuchi-piri*, and this means "Blackstone wounds."

I was delighted to get this word, for I had never heard it before. It carried my thoughts right back to the time when the Ainu used obsidian knives. And this linked them up with the stone age. It was a ringing echo from the past. I spent a very profitable hour with this old lady and she told me she had also some tattooing done on her back, but this was done in order to take away some pain she had there. She could tell me nothing about the origin of the custom. [757]

I used to try my very best to get the Ainu mothers to promise not to tattoo their girls, but to bring them up as the Japanese mothers did theirs. But it was in vain. Old customs die hard. And, they said, "When Aeoina the divine and his sister came down from heaven, the latter was tattooed, and before her departure hence she introduced the custom among the Ainu women." When some of the children or younger women began to rebel against the custom, both men and women intimidated them. The women said, "The divine sister of Aeoina taught us that if any woman marries a man without first being tattooed in a proper 304 [177]

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CHAPTER IX

IN THE HOME OF CHIEF PENRI

When at Piratori I always used to stay in the home 622
of Chief Penri and his wife. While there I got a great deal of information from him. He was acting chief of that place, the old hereditary one having died. In studying him I came to the conclusion that the principal requisites of an Ainu chief were a strong, burly frame, a powerful arm, a fierce eye, a ready wit, and a big voice with which to give his commands. And he assuredly possessed these requisites in a marked degree. I have often seen the children of Piratori flee [593]
before his fiery eye and bellowing voice, almost scared out of their wits when he has suddenly caught them peeping at me through the door, windows or openings of the reed thatch of his home. I have stayed many months with him in his abode and seen numerous little displays of the art of ruling as practised by him. Woe betide the one who failed to do his bidding!

Having arrived at his place, for the first time, I 114
at once engaged him as my teacher of Ainu, and I 115
must say that I found him very quick at finding out just what one wanted to get at. Yet every now and again we would both lose patience and then sit and glare at each other. When this happened we would start off into the hills for a stroll and I would take my lesson so. It was during one of these strolls that 117
I gained my spurs as a crack shot. It came about thus. As we were walking along under the trees, the chief pointed to a carrion crow sitting on a branch just ahead of us. These birds are inveterate chicken stealers and do great harm in the gardens, so he asked

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER XIV.

A CALL TO THE MOUNTAINS.

To hear strangers to this part of the globe talk, one would imagine that many of them suppose this mysterious race to be so hirsute as to be clothed from head to foot in hair like the brute beasts of the forest, and so unintellectual as to stand no higher than the chimpanzee in reason. But when they come into direct contact with the Ainu they soon find it necessary to revise their ideas in both these respects. For they are found to be no more hairy, no more monstrous and savage than the ordinary dwellers of the north in Russia, and quite as rational as other mortals. It is want of opportunity to progress and lack of a general education that has kept them behind others. The capacity is there and so is the desire. But like their numbers so their influence may be regarded as a negligible quantity, and they have to take quite a back seat among their more fortunate and pushing compatriots. 115

"Parapita" means in the Ainu tongue "eloquent," and truly "eloquent" this man certainly was, especially when in a temper. His native place was Usu in Volcano Bay, one of the most beautiful localities in Hokkaidō and destined to be a very important watering-place in the near future. For more than thirty years this man and his wife acted as our servants, and a very good cook the lady made. Being so long with us, we got to know them quite well. The man was very conservative and felt keenly the position the Ainu were being made to take, though he was very quiet over it. To me he would speak nothing but Ainu, and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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● 115 this just suited me, as I was so anxious to learn his tongue. I am bound to say that his mode of thought and some of his peculiar actions sometimes astonished me.

This couple brought up a family of five children in our house at Sapporo, and we saw two of them grow up, languish, and then die. Modern civilization which involves being shut up in a closed house, such as ours is, does not seem to me to agree well with the constitutions of these children of nature. The freedom of the hills, with the exercise and open air life this gives, to which their forefathers were used, suits them far better. Being shut up too much in a close atmosphere makes them weak and prone to consumption. I have known several fine lads, who had been trained as school teachers, gradually fade away and at last die of this dire disease. They could not stand the close application and warm rooms in the schools.

Parapita was a thoroughly honest man. He came to me one day with some money in his hand. "What is this?" I asked. "Ah," he replied, "this is the commission the shop-keepers have given me for buying things for you from them! I think it belongs to you, Sir!" "Thank you," I said. "It was a present to you personally, and although I suppose it came out of my pocket, please keep it." But it was some time before I could prevail on him to retain it. He said he thought it was not honest money! Parapita's education had been somewhat neglected!

"What is bred in the bone will come out in the flesh" is an aphorism as applicable today as ever it was. It bespeaks heredity in both body and mind. When we engaged this worthy couple we told them how nice it would be for them to have a good comfortable room and be sure of a fixed, regular wage. And to our satisfaction they decided to come to us. But none of us quite knew what we were let in for, as the sequel will show. After some nine months with us, we got up

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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one morning and found our man had completely disappeared and no one could tell us when, where or why he went. He was gone, and there was nothing more to be said. After three days he came back to us looking remarkably tired and washed out. Though I had never known him to touch alcohol in any form, I thought he must have gone off on a spree and had a drunken bout. But he declared it was not so. He told me that he had suddenly experienced *"the call to the mountains."* I had never heard about such "calls" before, so this explanation made me open eyes and ears. He told me that when such calls came, there was nothing for it but to obey immediately. He said that there was an irresistible force which drew and pushed him into the hills. So go he must. "What do you do there?" I asked. He said that it was very difficult to explain, but the name he told me was *Chiassuruani*. Philologically this means "being made to know the news." He said that it consisted in conversing with and seeking the aid of the superior spirits, running wild, jumping, howling and rolling. And he certainly looked as though he had been doing all this. Our conversation ended in my giving the old fellow permission to go whenever that irresistible impulse came upon him, for I was sure he would go just the same with or without leave. He left me in a happy frame of mind and did his work well after it. He used to go at intervals till almost the last, though his visits grew gradually further and further apart. He died some five years ago. This spirit has not by any means yet disappeared, for even the most educated of the men are seized by it in degree at times. One of them, the very best educated man I know among them, has to be let off twice a year for a week on end, but he tells me that he goes quite away by himself and does nothing but fish with a hook and line, and pray all the time.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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778 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a
755 long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died
● [115] at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named *nusa* when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named *inau*. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

226 But it must not be supposed that the *nusa* are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

177 The young man who gave me much of the fetish
778 lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVII

MY FRIENDS TEE AND ARIMAKNA

Among my very early friends was Tee. This Ainu 115
was a very silent man and of a meek disposition, and, except when hunting bears, was quite gentle in all his ways. I often think of him as one of nature's gentlemen. Both he and his wife were most courteous and kind, and I enjoyed staying with them. They lived in the very last house of the village farthest up the Saru River. There were no Japanese among the Ainu up there at that time, so their customs and language were pure Ainu. Whenever I think of the quiet, free, unanxious life they lived up there and compare that time with the present I cannot help sighing. But those halcyon days departed when the tax collector and modern civilization came in. I quite enjoyed seeing their life of quiet security and simplicity, alas, now gone for ever. It was only a very short time ago that I was asked by an old man whether I thought the old free-from-care times would ever return. He said he was very tired of the present state of things and thought there was something wrong somewhere! And surely he was right.

One day I told Chief Penri that I wished to go up 117
the track by the river and visit the other villages, but he greatly surprised me by saying that he could not take me up. "In that case, I suppose I must go alone, then," I said. But he begged me not to go. "Why don't you wish me to go up?" I asked. After a good deal of talk, he told me that he had received instructions from an official that he was to take me no higher up the river along the track. "The Japanese were re-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sponsible for my safety and great care was to be taken of me," they told him. "Oh, that is all right and very kind of the local authorities, but I have a passport which gives me authority to travel that way, so it is quite all right. Don't worry," I said, "but you need not come, for you must not do what the authorities forbid you." And there the matter was left, excepting that I heard the old man sigh repeatedly when he saw me making preparations to start on the morrow. At last, with a big grunt he jumped up and went out. And I saw him no more that night.

At daybreak next morning the chief came to my bedside and whispered, "Sir, I am going with you. I have thought of a plan. I was only told that I must not take you along the paths, but nothing at all was said about the river. I have a boat ready. Come." I was not in the least worried as to my personal safety, ever though there were no police up there in those days, for I knew the Ainu were my friends and would do me no harm, and that they were a very gentle people. And so we went. And this is the way in which I first came to know several of the chiefs and my very good friend Tee. I only stayed a short time on this occasion and got back to Piratori without meeting with any fanatics, or accidents of any kind.

114 After a few years had passed I went and stayed
● 115 with the Tee family and had a very happy and enlightening time there. The only drawback was the small smoky hut, for the smoke was, I found, very hard on my eyes. Mr. Tee was a mighty bear-hunter and told me he had taken as many as nine of these fierce animals in one season, all by himself with his dogs. That was a pretty good bag and the pelts brought him in quite a good round sum of money.

231 It was in his house that I gained my first close experience with a bear cub. They had a very tiny one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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become a full-grown man and has no doubt, gone off 539
to seek a wife. We are fully satisfied that it should be so, so let us return to our own native land." Such was the speech I heard from the top of that beautiful big ash tree. But when they saw us, they congratulated me on having found a wife, told me who I was, and how all my family had been massacred, and declared that we were to become the first parents of a new clan.

"The eagle—my fosterparent—said to me, "The name of thy native land is "Sea-end." It is a very rich country and you had formerly many prosperous ancestors there. However, certain evil demons came and ravaged it. And you alone remained alive. But the gods took counsel together, for they were pleased with the old inhabitants, because they made many fetishes which they offered to them and which were graciously accepted. And so it was that in olden times your ancestors flourished.

"Then the gods took further council together as to finding a god who should nourish you, and the choice fell upon me and my wife. My name is *Kepa-Chiri*, i.e., eagle. If, therefore, you desire to prosper in your country you must make a fetish and worship before it, saying: "O bird, who didst nourish me! O chief of the Eagles!' If you say this, and also make fetishes for the God who is master of the earth, then the divine Ones will look upon you from above with favour and will bless you and your country at all times. You will never be in want.' So here we live and our people increase. All the eagles told us has come true, and we are happy. It is marvellous! This is the origin of making fetishes at 'Sea-end' and setting them up." Thus does the legend end.

In looking over some fetishes one day, I happened 115
upon a pair of fine bird claws and was told by the owner that they were taken from a "White-tailed Eagle." In talking the matter over with him, he informed me

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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115 that they had been taken by himself and were very precious talismans. He also gave me the following story.

539 825 "The white-tailed eagle was sent down from heaven. It is a bird of very quick hearing powers and makes no mistakes. And so when any hunter goes into the mountains and happens upon such small animals as foxes and hares, and at the same time observes one of these eagles hovering near, he should quickly say, 'Make haste, O divine eagle, and kill this animal for me.' It will then at once descend and strike the creature with its breast and kill it. Thus it comes to be known that this bird has good hearing powers. It is for this reason that fetishes are presented to it when it is killed. Then, if the skin and body are placed in the garden plots, hares will not dare to come and spoil the produce. Once more; the claws of this eagle are to be carefully put away. And the way they are used 755 is this. If a snake should bite one's heel and cause 758 pain, the claws of this bird should be bound over the wound and the following prayer be said:

[788] "'The divine White-tailed Eagle has come to help; O snake, hasten to heal this man.' So should the man say."

The eagle spoken of in the first legend is the *Aquila clagna, Poll.*, but the white-tailed eagle here spoken of is the *Haliaetus albicilla, Linn.* The use of the claws as a cure for snake bite is very curious and it was a long time before I could make out the reason for the custom. At last I was told that, according to Ainu ideas, eagles are the enemies of snakes and catch and eat them. The claws are therefore placed over wounds given by these reptiles as a threat to the one who did the biting. This is said to frighten the snake into removing his poison! In the prayer he is informed by the sufferer

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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825 539 cook thee and the people will eat thy body. We now measure thy flesh with this water-ladle. If it fills the ladle six times, all thy friends will be able to partake of thee, but should there be less, some will have to go away hungry. In that case we shall be obliged to kill another of thy kind.'" Then the measuring takes place, while all look on. I believe many people heap the ladle up so high that there is always a shortage, of the prescribed six, so that another may be hunted. Surely, as I heard a man once say, "There are tricks in all trades but ours."

115 825 My old servant, Parapita by name, the man who at times received calls from the mountains, as mentioned in another chapter, used to accompany me sometimes of an afternoon, when I went to shoot. Nothing seemed to please him more than this. As we were going along one day, a water-ousel got up, which I brought down, thinking it would be a good specimen for the museum here. My man retrieved it for me, but begged me to allow him to extract the heart and swallow it. "But why"? I asked. He replied, "If I swallow it quickly now, while it is nice and warm, its occult influence will enter into me and make me able to endure fatigue, cause me to become more eloquent, and endow me with ability to shoot as quickly and as steadily and straight as you did then." This request surprised me not a little. I humoured him, however, and saw him swallow the heart whole. Thus the Museum lost a specimen while I gained an ocular demonstration of Ainu belief put into undeniable and reverent practice. Upon our return, Parapita volunteered the following legend.

539 825 "The water-ousel came down from heaven. He is of a black colour and frequents the water courses. He is exceedingly wise of heart and in speech most eloquent. Therefore when he is killed, he should be immediately torn open and his heart wrenched out

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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mer were split up the middle and dried in the sun. So 251
dried, I did not think them good eating. 262

All kinds of fish, fresh water and salt, great and 226
small, were worshipped as gods or feared as demons, 776
and thus it comes to pass that when the Ainu speak of the gods and demons of the rivers and sea, they generally refer to some kind of fish or marine animal. The following were the chief fresh water fish caught by the men.

In the rivers of Hokkaidō, the salmon and salmon trout were reckoned as the chief fish and were called gods in a sense often rather more honorable than that of mere courtesy. Then there were the pike, mudtrout, perch, roach and some other small fry. Around the sea coast there were sardines, herrings, mackerel, codfish, bream, soles, plaice, sharks, swordfish, whales and porpoises. And there were to be found at some places, oysters, scallops, mussels, clams, whelks, large crabs and so forth. It was truly a lordly supply. The old men of the present day say they can only "lick their chops and think of what once was."

The chief marine animals speared were otters, walruses, seals and sea-leopards. They were killed with harpoons and spears, and the men were very expert in using the instruments, were excellent boatmen and could swim like fish.

When collecting folk-lore from these people, I some- 115
times found my informants would start off on their own account, and by allowing them to carry on so, I managed to obtain quite a number of stories I could not have got otherwise. The following remarkable legend is one of them. I have called it "A Fish Famine Legend."

"There was a certain man of wealth, through whose 539
property there passed a fine river which always 226
abounded in excellent fish. Every year he caught very many, which he smoked and stowed away in six (six

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER LII

ON A JOURNEY

The incidents related in the following chapter took place a good many years ago, before Hokkaidō was as accessible to foreigners as it is now. There were hardly any good roads and not a foot of railway had been laid, nor surveys for such taken. Nor had the rivers of the interior been bridged. One had to travel on horseback, sitting cross-legged on a pack-saddle, as a rule, though sometimes it was possible to obtain a foreign-made saddle. The deep rivers were forded by means of small dug-out boats or large barges, which took in men, baggage, and horses too. These were generally drawn across by means of ropes.

My old friend and servant, Parapita by name, used to pride himself on his great learning, and he taught me many things when we were journeying together. I gathered much from him as we were making our way among the villages. He was always very entertaining and much of what he said and did was quite unexpected and often most practical.

The pony I was riding one day was a very old, small, and poor one. He was not up to carrying my weight and was remarkably shaky in the knees. He was also a mighty stumbler. As we were going along at a fairly sharp trot, he suddenly stumbled and came down. I was immediately and without warning shot like an arrow several yards clean over his fore-quarters, for I found nothing for my feet, which were crossed over his shoulders, to grip. His head was nowhere to be seen. The poor brute had fallen on his own head and neck! There was the poor head tucked nicely under one of his

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB 6

Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said kedzuri-kake were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of *primary* origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases.

I have now only to give my personal considerations and observations on the meaning of inau and their origin.

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties, the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Nisendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?" — "This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-itáku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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[178] becoming degenerate owing to alcohol and loss of interest in life, and were declining in numbers.

When in Japan in 1929 my husband, the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., met Munro, he was distressed to learn that all Munro's notes on the Ainu, his specimens and photographs, had been lost in the great earthquake of 1923. At the same time, he had suffered severe financial loss and was unable to continue his Ainu studies at his own expense. Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people. On his return to England he applied for funds to
[122] the Rockefeller Foundation to enable Munro to continue his investigations. Funds were granted in 1930, and Munro immediately had a small house built at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, and settled there, with his Japanese wife, to make an intensive study of the Ainu.

[123] His method of work was to open a clinic—in which he was aided by his wife, a trained hospital nurse—and to give free treatment to all who flocked to him. Having gained the confidence of the Ainu, he kept open house for all who came there to gossip, sing
● [115] songs, tell legends and talk of past times. He was thus acquainted with a number of elders (*ekashi*), who became his regular informants, and to whom he referred as friends and teachers.

In December 1932 a second misfortune befel Munro. Before dawn one morning his thatched house at Nibutani was burnt down. He and his wife escaped from the flames, and managed to save a tin box in which he kept his Ainu notes, but all his belongings, his books, his photographic and other scientific material, were destroyed. Exposure to the bitter cold of the Hokkaido winter impaired Munro's health, and the disaster left him all but penniless. However, he did not give in.

[122] Seligman applied for further grants. In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation made another contribution, and grants were made by the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Asiatic Society of Japan sent a donation. A small committee for the British Association was formed, and this now comprises Professor Daryll Forde, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., Mr Arthur D. Waley, C.H., C.B.E., F.B.A., with myself as chairman.

Munro's health deteriorated. It is not quite clear in which years he returned to Karuizawa to do a summer season's work at the sanatorium and when he remained throughout the year in Hok-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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114 [122] on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934 that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

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[611] [582]

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 ● 115 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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of their knowledge would have died with them, as the old way of life was fast disappearing under growing Japanese influence, and with new conditions the old rituals, beliefs and legends were neglected. It is unlikely that any of his informants are alive today.

Munro sent an excellent series of photographs, many of which are reproduced in this volume, but unfortunately, only the prints reached this country, and I have been unable to trace the negatives. The prints and all his original manuscript will be deposited at the Royal Anthropological Institute.

Publication during the war was not possible, and afterwards, the difficulty remained of finding someone competent to revise the manuscript. It was fortunate that Mr Hitoshi Watanabe, a lecturer in the Anthropological Institute of the Faculty of Science at the University of Tokyo, who had come to London to study at University College, was eventually able to go through it. He had been a research member of the Tokyo Joint Research Committee on the Ainu, and had carried out field work in four expeditions from 1950 to 1952, so his assistance has been of great value. Besides making general comments on the manuscript, he has added footnotes drawn from his own experience, and from Japanese and other sources, and has written an historical introduction to this book.

Although Mr Watanabe saw the work as prepared by Munro, he did not see the other articles and papers. He criticized many details and one major interpretation made by Munro. Most of these differences, and all his additional information, are incorporated in footnotes. In considering the differences, some facts must be taken into account. As already mentioned above, Munro visited the Ainu country in the early decades of this century, and went to live among them in 1930, making Nibutani his home until he died there twelve years later. Already in the thirties he found that the younger generation was not keeping up the old customs, and his reliable informants were all old people. His information was based on events seen and heard, supplemented by discussion with elders. When the Tokyo Joint Research Committee made their investigations in the fifties, religious ideas may have been known more as theological systems than as living belief. This may account for some of the major differences in interpretation. As to the differences in facts, Munro pointed out that his records referred to those districts with which he was familiar, and to others from which he

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FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

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[828]

such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

[776]
[822]

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

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We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

[115]
[753]
[789]
[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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Fig. 1. A woman whom Munro treated for stomach trouble and who gave him his first information about the *kut*.

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Fig. 2. Wife of Tumashumi, an informant on the *kut* and an authority on dancing.

PLATE XXVII. AINU WOMEN.

[p 78, (K)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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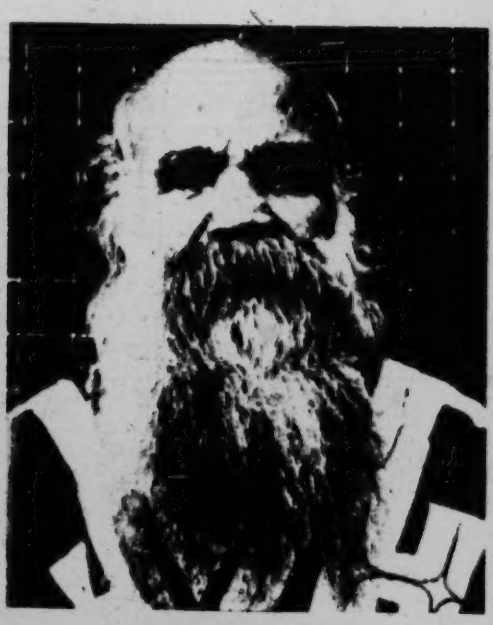

2.

3.

Fig. 1. Isonash, an informant. Fig. 2. Kotan Pira, an informant about 78 years old.
Fig. 3. Shirambe, another informant, aged 74.

PLATE XXXI. SOME OF MY INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (0)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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Fig. 1. Tumashnuri Ekashi, a teacher who spent nearly half his life in Sakhalin.

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Fig. 2. Jensuke, my young Ainu assistant.

PLATE XXXII. MORE INFORMANTS.

[p. 78, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 [292] [789] [582]

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

342 527 782 177

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

342 527 782 273 [769] [796] [115]

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

342 527 782 554 [516]

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M. [177]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies. In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers. [789] [822] I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

796 789 731 535 A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*, characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui* are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot, the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords. Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the *niwen horipa* is fading out in the north where the Ainu population is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon [115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later. [114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu to whom I recited them.

EXORCISM

(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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DEATH AND BURIAL

Social Mourning

764
[115] The following account is based on information given by six elders and some elderly women, supplemented by my excellent informant Nesukrek-guru and my own limited observation. The mourners enter softly and slowly, the men advancing with bodies bowed down, hands hanging in front to or below the level of the knees. The women steal in meekly, stooping even lower. The body has been dressed and adorned, that of a man with a sword, a woman with a necklace. The near relatives sit beside the body in proper order. This varies with the status of the deceased, and during the proceedings a relative may for a time yield a place of honour to another or to a close friend, but the diagram (text fig. 7 B) shows the order generally preserved. There may be a number of near relatives ranged on either side of the corpse, but six have special importance. None of these sits at the head, which is kept for those who go in turn to weep their last farewell. No. 1 is the chief mourner but No. 4 occupies the seat of honour.

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If the deceased is an elder or householder, No. 1 is the oldest son available, and failing him a brother, the elder always having preference. No. 2 is a sister, or if none available a daughter. No. 3 is the widow, or failing her a sister. These are called *ram-koro-guru* (heart-having). No. 4 is a brother, or if none a sister. Nos. 5 and 6 are sisters or close female relatives.

If the deceased is the wife of an elder or householder No. 1 is her husband or if dead a son. No. 2 is the mother, her sister or the deceased's sister. No. 3 is a sister; No. 4 a brother; Nos. 5 and 6 near female relatives.

If the deceased is an unmarried man No. 1 is his father or father's brother. No. 2 is his father's mother or mother's sister. No. 3 is the mother,[1] or her sister. No. 4 is the father's father or failing him father's brother. No. 5 is the father's sister and No. 6 the mother's sister.

If the deceased is an unmarried woman No. 1 is her father, or his brother or failing him the mother's brother. No. 2 is the mother's mother or her sister. No. 3 is the mother, or her sister.

of Ethnology, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 290; *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[595]

[1] If the mother of a dead child was a junior wife she was entitled to the position of a chief wife for herself and her relatives.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
422 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
532 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
[115] regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau* stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

G /34 cont./
532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea."
The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the
main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes
complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird
heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

A The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now
172 "archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the
532 Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-
825 self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national
[177] culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically
Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was
only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old
worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils
and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been
preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu cele-
brated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were
made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of
greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured
representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like
representations with the head of the bear all dug out from
under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize,
twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears'
heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in
pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The re-
mainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is
evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by
soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out
A figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their
[115] dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old
[224] Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar repre-
sentations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a
successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.

A /35 contains photographs./ /36/
532 All the representations are made of the larch roots, and
825 the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and

/327 cont'd/

175 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small
648 wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told
• [115] me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2)

2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from sealskin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

/327 cont'd/

173 occasinally, the inhabitants of the island at that time were not afraid of snow and sought shelter under the trees. They hunted different game by catching it with their wings. No animal could escape them. But they killed so many animals living on land and sea that God decided to punish them for that and took their wings from them. In my opinion this legend /328/ shows pretty clearly that the Ainu formerly lived in tropical countries.

About these winged men there is still another story: A flock of swans flew over their heads to the north and then again back south and called very softly ko-ko-ko! One of the men envied them for it and asked them to take him along. He said that he, too, had wings but was dying from boredom since he always had to sit in one spot. The swans took him up and he flew away with them. Ever since, each spring and fall when the flock of swans passes by, one hears the low voice ko-ko-ko of the flying man.

The Ainu of Sakhalin tell about a people Koropok-un-ku that lived under the broad leaves of the Ruwe kina (Petasites japonica), always six people to a leaf. But all the Ainu asserted unanimously that these small people lived on the island Hokkaido, not on Sakhalin.

From the Ainu living on Hokkaido I heard stories about the Tonchi twice: Once, in the village of Sirawoi not far from Mororan, I asked the inhabitants whether they had pipe-bowls made out of stone such as many I had seen on Sakhalin. But they answered that this was probably Tondzin kamui korope, i.e. a thing used by the Tonchi and was not found on Hokkaido. Also on Sakhalin the Ainu told me that [177] these pipe-bowls made from stone (suma kisiri) had been wrought by the Tonchi and were the only objects originating with the Tonchi that [115] were used by the Ainu. Another time Penri, the oldest man in the settlement of Piratori, who was known to many travelers, told me about the Tonchi. He said that they were a people living beyond the sea in the country of Sianta. The Tonchi had never lived on Hokkaido, but the Ainu brought objects made by them from Sakhalin to Soya. In the seventies Penri went to Sakhalin fishing with an expedition composed of Ainu and Japanese and exchanged his sword for that of one of the oldest tribesmen of the village of Rure. For his Japanese sword that had cost ten yen he received a Tonchi sword which in turn he handed over to another Ainu. Generally there are few Tondzin

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred throughout Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dispersions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke.

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information pertaining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1, [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

124 importance, because by interview technique there would be the danger of
128 the informant supplying their own generalized and theorized explanations in place of information about the concrete activities from which the investigator is to deduce some relations. Actually there exists such a strong tendency which might lead the research worker to false interpretation.

128 In the present paper a comparison is made of the relations thus observed
121 in different Ainu groups at our time horizon and a generalized description is made of those relations which are common to all the groups. Where there
115 is some important variation found in any group a note was added. It should be noticed that, besides the first-hand information supplied by the three informants mentioned above on the old-time Ainu groups, a considerable amount of data was obtained from at least 20 Ainu informants—two from tne Shikot or Chitose valley (Hikoichi Oyamada and Shibakichi Imaizumi, both males), one from the Azuma valley (Kentaro Yoshimura, male), four from the Mukawa valley (Kashindeashi Katayama, male; Usamtarek Okawa, male; Takaro Miyamoto, male; Itakmainu Morimoto, male), six from the Saru valley (Hachiro Kurokawa, male; Dairoku Kibata, male; Monko Kawakami, female; Tokujiro Kawakami, male; Kunimatu Nitani, male; Mopi, female), three from the mid-Tokapchi (Ritu Yoshine, female; Taijiro Tamai, male; Tome Hasegawa, female), three from the Tushipet valley (Neusharumon Kiyokawa, female; Takeo Kiyokawa, male; Hachiro Sawai, male) and one from the Kusuri or Kushiro valley (Toyosaku Kkurotake, an old Japanese born there and married to an Ainu woman). These latter belong to newer generations than the other three; they could only supply information about life experiences and observations made at periods later than or immediately following the date under survey and about hearsays from their older generations. To these occasional reference is made in the paper. Descriptions with special reference to place-names other than the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Atuma are based on these latter data, whereas those referring to either one or the other of the three areas or to no areas at all, that is, descriptions common to all the three valleys, are based on data concerning the anterior Ainu groups obtained through the afore-mentioned procedure.

Acknowledgements.

114 My thoughts incorporated in this paper have not matured in isolation. Among many persons who influenced them I may name Professor Kotondo Hasebe, formerly of University of Tokyo, who was the first to draw my attention to the importance of viewing man as a functioning organism and man's life as part of his function, and Professor Daryll Forde, of University College, London, who led me to a realization of the significance and necessity of ecological analysis in the study of human groups, through his treatise

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my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of membership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities. The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

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[103]

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[50]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	〃	〃
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

[115]

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[51].

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

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Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season.

[619]

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Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off,

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(62) Social aspects of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 796 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu [562] a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido, fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi* ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings [782] and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settlement." INUKAI, 1954, p. 81. "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked....to be offered to the fire-spirit....and the house-spirit ....Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as the first catch of the season'". Ibid., p. 83. Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp. [562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual, *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 226 796 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as [115] joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or Fucho perryi, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 796 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise [821] of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the headman knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;